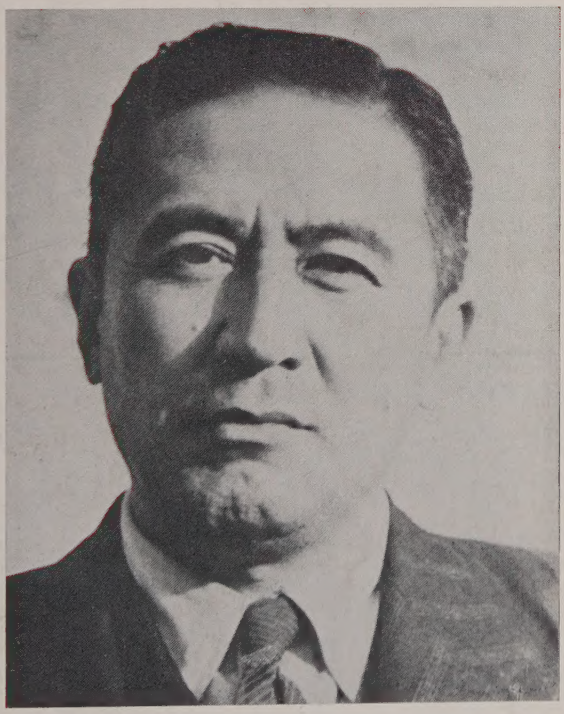
July 1955

Fellowship



PAUL SEKIYA *Visitor*

30¢

Pax Vobiscum, Mr. Secretary

by Donald Irish

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FELLOWSHIP

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The WORLD in FOCUS

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Neutrals

The change of Kremlin heart manifested in the signing of a peace treaty with Austria and friendly overtures to Yugoslavia and West Germany has given renewed vigor to European neutralists. Some observers speculate that the Soviet Union would even permit the neutralization of some of its satellites if it could achieve thereby a broad belt of neutral nations from Sweden to the Mediterranean, including a neutral and unified Germany.

Neutralists who look optimistically from these developments to the creation of a "third force" in a bloc of such powers face awesome obstacles. If the "neutral" nations maintain military establishments, who will supply them? If militarily they become dependent on either the U.S. or the Soviet Union, their independence will become a myth. If they tie in with the industrial might of Germany, another armed bloc would come into being, to be coveted and battled over by both sides.

Unless these nations go beyond neutralism and reject the old path of building an army, striking out on a new course of active resistance to military alliances, it is likely this neutralism will not last. The military will serve as a great barrier to genuine social revolution.

On the other hand, the spectacle of a Germany, unarmed and prosperous without a military burden, offering peaceful cooperation to other "nations between" in Europe and Africa and Asia, could mark a decisive turning point in modern history. Such a development could ultimately have its effect on all of West Europe, and eventually on the two great powers as well.

Shelters

Civil defense continues to give the impression of substituting necromancy and spells for good hard facts. In most of the cities participating in the national CD "exercises" June 15, wardens solemnly shepherded their subdued charges into shelters that their own experts have labelled useless. ("Those people who live and work near a probable aiming point for thermonuclear weapons cannot hope to survive even in shelters—if they are there when the bomb goes off," said USCD Director Val Peterson.[1])

Some cities "practiced" evacuation by moving a few thousand people ten to twenty miles out of town, an exercise that left something to be desired as an indication of what might be done about transporting a million or more panicky citizens the same distance within a warning period of, say, two hours. (The new aero-medical unit of the New York wing of the Civil Air Patrol practiced evacuating refugees from Queens on the assumption that an H-bomb on northern Manhattan had destroyed all bridges and made evacuation by land impossible. The exercise was labelled a great success, with twenty-three people evacuated.)

Outside the cities, of course, the refugees would join suburbanites and rural residents in facing the hazard of radioactive fallout, which would extend in lethal doses for as much as 200 miles downwind. To counteract this, Director Peterson suggests each home be equipped with a concrete underground shelter, complete with running water, sanitary facilities, batteries, and air-conditioning (so you don't breathe the contaminated air). After four or five days spent in this nifty little hideaway, estimated to cost $2,000 or more, the citizens may come out, wash down their houses, turn over all the ground for 5,000 square feet around, and resume their normal activities. (One scientist got mad at this—said it would be a month before they could come out, and then only for a few hours a day.)

Beside this, does pacifism really look unrealistic?

Missiles

The Air Force is busily working on bigger and better guided missiles, both offensive and defensive. In the latter category, Air Force spokesmen became lyrical about the Falcon recently, a missile that "can't miss" once it's been got within radar range of an attacking bomber by the pilot of the plane carrying it. This, they

1 *New York Times*, Feb. 27, 1955

said, will be America's "first line of defense," capable of shooting down any planes made.

On the offensive side, the boys have three versions of the "intercontinental strategic missile" on which both we and the Russians are reported to be concentrating. Carrying a thermonuclear warhead, it could cross the Atlantic in fifteen minutes and would "present any enemy of the United States with an almost hopeless defensive job."

You guessed it—even a Falcon couldn't shoot it down!

Bacteriological

"Things are seldom what they seem," sang Little Buttercup, and the sentiment expresses exactly the plight of the word "defense" these days. With pious protestations of righteousness that must be creating an awful odor a few miles up, we do everything, including the manufacture of weapons that can't possibly be used except offensively, in the name of "defense."

"Traditionally, the United States has never adopted the role of an aggressor," writes the Chief of the Army's Public Information Division, skipping lightly over Mexico, the Philippines, and the Noble Red man, "and its continued research in the field of germ warfare (1) acts as a deterrent to other nations which are not bound by these same moral restrictions, and (2) provides the necessary knowledge for the preparation of effective counter-measures, should the need arise for their employment by reason of enemy attack."

Interpreted, this gobbledegook does not mean that the U.S. is concentrating on methods of treatment, should those "not bound by . . . moral restrictions" drop plague germs on us. It means that American scientists are trying to manufacture more virulent plagues to drop on them once they have released us from our moral restrictions. All, of course, in the name of defense!

Security

Prominent physicians and scientists brought to Washington in connection with the Salk vaccine matter were required to be fingerprinted and to fill out a loyalty form before they could collect their pay. The form advised them to avoid drunkenness (habitual), drug addiction, sexual perversion, sabotage, and associating sympathetically with spies.

by Culbert G. Rutenber

THE CHRISTIAN AND COEXISTENCE

ADLAI STEVENSON, defeated candidate for President of the United States in 1952, has expressed himself as impatient with those who seem reluctant to commit themselves to East-West co-existence. "It is," he says, "co-existence or no existence."

Of course we have co-existence of a kind today. It is, according to Professor Butterfield, the co-existence of two men facing each other with loaded pistols cocked and pointed. Each is willing to throw his weapon out the window if the other will. But each fears to make the first move, lest the other double-cross him and he be at his opponent's mercy. So neither dares move and both remain in dangerous co-existence.

The Christian, of course, cannot be satisfied with such an uneasy form of co-existence. He yearns for a relation which expresses reconciliation, openness, mutual respect, tolerance in the positive rather than negative sense. If he is wise, however he will not underestimate the difficulties. There are relatively few places in the world today where East and West citizens can "enjoy" the luxury of those face-to-face relations where experiments in reconciliation are at least a theoretical possibility. Officials, as officials are only partly personal. They are in part, the prisoners of their office and are not free to forget their official status.

No pacifist, for instance, could morally be President of the United

States today unless he were willing to submerge his pacifistic convictions in the interest of administering the ethos of the American nation. He would be morally bound not to administer pacifism. For the same reason he would be morally bound not to gamble the lives of his people upon an adventure in reconciliation for which they were unprepared, however hopeful of its result he might be. The first fact that a concerned Christian must know is that a nation is not a person and cannot be understood as if it were.

Second Fact

The second fact is of equal importance—Christians can influence nations. Even Christian officials are not hopelessly frustrated. Their personal attitudes, the atmosphere with which they surround their work, can lessen the tensions of those with whom they work, and their official decisions can at least *lean* toward the ideal.

For most Christians, their influence upon co-existence must be indirect. Theirs is the task of changing the very nature of the ethos which the politician or statesman administers. And this they can do because they have entered into the redemption of our Lord Jesus Christ. Such redemption is salvation indeed, including salvation from fear, hate, and self-righteousness—those deep-rooted enemies of life in society.

At the root of social tensions is fear. Fear is born of anxiety, becoming fear when it finds an appropriate object upon which to focus. The West's fear of Russia is both "appropriate" and realistic, and hence the suspicion born of it, which makes trustful negotiations all but impossible, is understandable—understandable from a human standpoint but not from a superhuman one. The Christian is not permitted the "luxury" of fearing and suspecting, even when such attitudes have rational justification. He has already gone through death to self and possessions in his surrender to Christ. Therefore he cannot be fearful, for he has nothing to hold on to, not even his life. Secure in the divine love, he is free to approach all men in that openness which expresses trust and renounces suspicion. His very existence as a Christian citizen decreases by one the number of fear-bearers in a country and increases the pressure for understanding and negotiation.

From fear is derived hate by direct line of descent. Freedom from fear means freedom from hate. The Christian, therefore, is not swept off his feet by the tides of passionate hate that engulf his countrymen and obscure their vision. Even his vocabulary sets him apart. He speaks factually rather than evaluationally when discussing the problems of co-existence. He does not apply down-grading words to the national enemy and up-grading words to his own country, thus subtly and often unconsciously contributing to the mood of hate and suspicion. (Bertrand Russell speaks of conjugating value-weighted adjectives in this way: 1) I am firm; 2) You are obstinate; 3) He is a pig-headed fool.)

And since redemption comes to the Christian from grace and grace alone, he dare not succumb to that self-righteousness which has made modern wars so terrible. For where wars—whether cold or hot—are fought for righteousness, anything short of complete victory over the

powers of darkness is a betrayal of virtue. A negotiated peace is intolerable compromise. Self-righteousness always tends towards cruelty and stubbornness.

The Christian is a citizen of heaven, owing his ultimate loyalty to God and not the state. He is thus capable of a cultural transcendence which saves him from a simple identification of his own culture with the Kingdom of God. The very existence of a Church of Christ on both sides of the dividing line between East and West ameliorates the intensity of the present conflict. If cultural transcendence were more apparent in Christians on both sides of the line, the hopes for co-existence would be greater.

But even when transcendence is only slight, it puts the Christian in a strategically important position. No longer immersed in his cultural environment, he enjoys a perspective from which the good of the whole globe can be surveyed, a perspective which permits the insight of justice to take shape, and which encourages a lively concern to make those insights become actualities within the power struggles of the nations. Such a position, "above" the limited horizon of the merely national, enlarges the capacity for putting oneself in the place of the "enemy" with the end in view of seeing his position. Without this identification in imagination with the enemy, co-existence based on negotiation becomes improbable.

Allegiance to the Kingdom of God makes a Christian patient in his dealings with others. Because his hope is beyond the temporal and immediate, he can afford to wait. Saved from the time-frenzy of our modern world, looking for a Kingdom whose ruler and maker is God, he can take the long view living with tensions which would prove intolerable to those whose hopes span only their own lifetime. Such an attitude of long-suffering patience is of inestimable value in the current search of the West for a *modus vivendi* with the Communist powers. Here impatience means ruin.

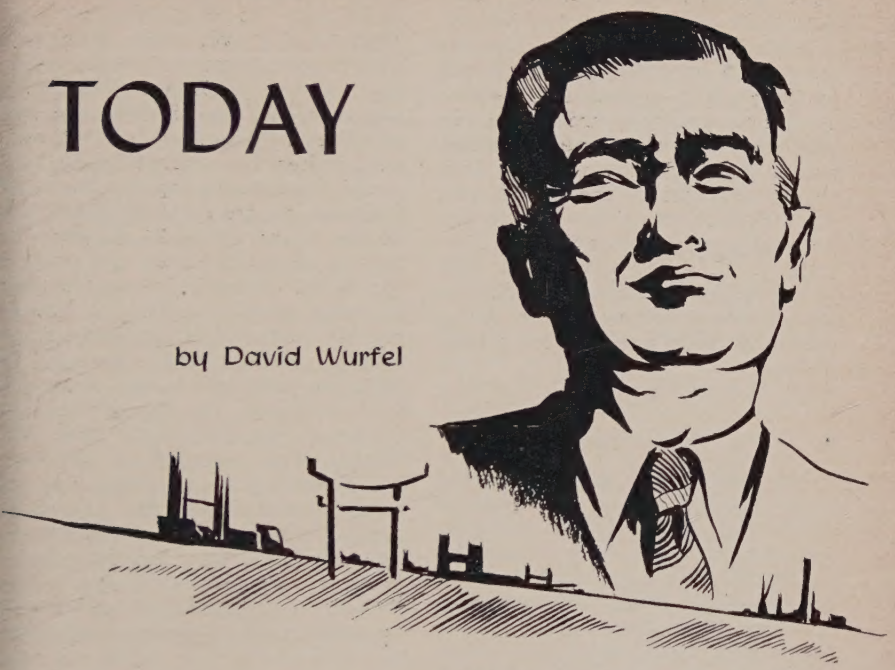
Overarching all of those considerations is the Christian's trust in the love and power of Him who holds the destiny of all in His hands. Neither cynicism nor despair grips the Christian. He knows a power which operates creatively in history to bring things new from the old and stalemated. And in prayer he can lay hold of that Power and release it into the world.

The Christian, then, makes his first contribution to East-West co-existence not in his activity but in his passivity, where he lays himself open to Christ's transforming power. He must become reconciled in his own spirit before he can reconcile others or hope to change the international climate in which nations grope for effective formulas for living together. In short, he must *be* before he *does*. But having *become*, he must then lay persuasive hands upon the apparatus of government, in so far as that is open to him, that he might turn it into the ways of peace. Thus he becomes both salt and light, as intended by his Lord.

This article was prepared by Professor Rutenber in preparation for the IFOR Conference at Vaumarcus, Switzerland, and made available to the IFOR *Newletter* for limited distribution.

The JAPANESE F.O.R. TODAY

by David Wurfel



THE RUBBLE which was once the Japanese War Ministry building is an anachronism in prosperous looking post-war Tokyo. More appropriate to the atmosphere is the rapidly rising new structure two blocks away which will soon house the Self-Defense Board, the euphemistic term for Japan's unconstitutional new War Ministry. Opposite the ruins which symbolize the defeat of militarism stands the spire of the US Army's Chapel Center, seemingly in an attitude of victory over its shabby neighbor. But the victory was only military, not moral, for the nation which erected that spire also urged the establishment of the Self-Defense Board and is helping to pay for its new building. Paradox is prevalent in contemporary Japan.

And yet out of militarism and the labor of the atom has come a peace movement. A substantial portion of the generation of youth which received its elementary and secondary education during the fervid militarism of the 1940's was completely disillusioned of the efficacy of armed might in modern international relations by the tragedies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. These youth were convinced by

their magnanimous conquerors that democracy and the path of peace were inseparably linked and that both were good for the new Japan.

When the Occupation foisted upon them a constitution which said in Article 9, "Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes. . . ." they took it at face value, which is more than can be said of the successors (both Japanese and American) to the Occupation.

Peace Fronts

Too many youth, however, come under the influence of glib phrases emanating from pro-Communist organizations. For such people the cry of "peace" is so closely linked to one political formula that their "pacifism" is highly suspect. Others are wiser, and more consistent. Christians who believe in the moral and practical necessity of complete pacifism have banded together to form the Japanese FOR. Under mature leadership, but made up mostly of the younger generation, the FOR in 1954 lamented a membership of only 410,[1] which represents, nevertheless, a growth of 20% in each of the last two years and, at present, amounts to 0.1% of the Christian community. The American FOR can claim only about 0.05% of the nation's church members on its roles.

The man largely responsible for the vigor of the Japanese FOR's program is touring the United States under the joint sponsorship of the American FOR and the AFSC. He is Paul Sekiya, the "half-time" executive secretary who devotes almost all of his waking hours to FOR activities. Paul was born in Tokyo in 1904, the son of a Christian mother and civil servant father. He entered Tokyo Imperial University, Japan's best and toughest, where he received a law degree at the age of 24. At graduation he took a civil service post in the Home Office, but soon resigned in order to prepare for the ministry. He went to Cambridge in England in 1931 to study theology. In 1933, on his return to Japan, he was ordained in the Protestant Episcopal Church. Until 1942 Mr. Sekiya was engaged in pastoral and student work in Tokyo. In that year he went to Shanghai as a civilian employee of the Japanese Navy and was, for a short time, professor at St. John's University there. But he was soon conscripted and forced to serve in the Japanese army until the end of the war. After the war Mr. Sekiya remained in Shanghai to engage in relief work among the Japanese, including those who had been put in prison as war criminals. It was at this time that he first came into close contact with Quakers, both British and American, who were working at Friends' Center or in the Friends' Service Unit in Shanghai. Soon after he returned to Japan in 1947, he became a member of the Tokyo Friends' Meeting. He is superintendent of the Setagaya Neighborhood Center's Sunday School, and a member of both the AFSC Advisory Committee and the Japan Yearly Meeting's Peace Committee.

Though a life-long Christian, Mr. Sekiya still considers himself

[1] This includes 66 foreigners and 43 non-Christian associate members.

something of a newcomer to the pacifist movement, since he was not connected with the Japanese pre-war FOR founded in 1926. Rev. Michio Kozaki, who was recently moderator of Kyodan, the United Church of Christ in Japan, was president of the small group throughout the pre-war period. Its most dramatic act was an appeal to Prime Minister Saito at the time of the Manchurian Incident "to solve the Manchurian problem peacefully." The Prime Minister, in reply, advised the authors of the appeal "to arouse public opinion." The *Kempetai*, or secret police, took a somewhat different view of the whole affair and FOR activities became increasingly difficult. By 1942 meetings announced by hand-delivered notes were held secretly in private houses. Dr. Theodore Walser, a Presbyterian missionary whose name is revered in Christian pacifist circles in Japan, was among those who hosted these "clandestine" gatherings. Finally in 1944 the FOR was dissolved by the *Kempetai*.

Need for Organization

After the war, in a much freer atmosphere, pacifists again felt the need for organization. In April 1948, spurred by the presence of Harry Silcock, a British Friend, the FOR was reborn. An executive committee was chosen, but it had no regular staff. Not until a year later, when Nevin Sayre was visiting Japan, did Paul Sekiya, on Mr. Sayre's urging, take over the job of executive secretary.

FOR activities since 1949 have been amazingly numerous and varied, considering the size of the organization. In December 1949 Mr. Sekiya went to the world pacifist meeting in India in honor of Gandhi. Accompanying him was Mrs. Tomi Kora, a Columbia Ph.D. and an active FOR member even in pre-war days. As a long-time friend of Rabindranath Tagore, she had visited India several times. She is now a member of the House of Councillors, Japan's upper house.

FOR and World Pacifism

The Japanese FOR's second important contact with world pacifism was in the person of Muriel Lester, who spoke at the first All-Japan FOR Conference in September, 1951. Following the July 1953 Third All-Japan Conference, a week's retreat at Katata on the shores of Lake Biwa in Central Honshu was held in the church of another politically active FOR member, Rev. Kanichi Nishimura, a *Kyodan* pastor. Only 15 people attended the retreat, but their influence was much greater than numbers would seem to indicate. The subject of one meeting was non-violence; another was an address by a political scientist and former university president on the preservation of Article 9 of the constitution. In both cases audiences were good.

The calendar of FOR activities in 1954 began with the return of Muriel Lester to Tokyo from Communist China in January. Then came the World Pacifist Conference in April. Though officially sponsored by *Nichi Honzan Myohoji*, a Buddhist organization dedicated to the practice and preaching of nonviolence, many FOR members cooperated closely. The conference started in Tokyo and held meetings throughout Japan in the subsequent

three weeks. Some of Gandhi's disciples came from India; Howard Brinton, already in Japan with the AFSC, helped represent the United States. The initial fear in some quarters that the conference might be dominated by persons of a pro-Communist orientation was unfounded. Religious spirit prevailed throughout.

Other Channels

As commendable as this schedule may be, it is heartening to know that the influence of the FOR is made known through channels other than that of the program of the national headquarters. As we have already noted, FOR members are not inactive on the political scene.

Dr. Katsuo Takenaka, Professor of Sociology and Dean of Liberal Arts at Doshisha University in Kyoto, was active in the pre-war FOR. A member of the House of Councillors from the Kyoto district, and of the Executive Committee of the Left Socialist Party, he is outspoken in his opposition to rearmament.

Dr. Tetsutaro Ariga has been Professor of Christian Religion at the former Imperial University at Kyoto since 1948. During the war, as Professor and later Dean of the Theological School of Doshisha University, he found himself increasingly compromised by relationships with the war system. Repentant for his degree of compromise, as are many Japanese pacifists who found themselves in similar positions, Dr. Ariga is strong in his convictions. His professional position provides him an excellent forum for the exposition of his pacifist faith.

Dr. Iwao Ayusawa, who greet you with a twinkle in his eye an a British accented ditty—"Ah yo sweet? Ah you sowa?"—to hel you remember his name, is th chairman of the FOR Executiv Committee and one of the vice presidents of the IFOR. Dr. Ayu sawa, a Columbia Ph.D., is now Professor of Labor Relations at In ternational Christian University Before the war he was for eleve years Senior Staff Member of IL in Geneva and for four years Di rector of the Tokyo ILO office. H was executive director of the Cen tral Labor Relations Board fro 1946 to 1949.

Younger Members

Younger FOR members are mak ing up for their lack of professiona prominence with the intensity o their crusading zeal. Sata come from Kashiwara-cho, a small tow just outside Osaka. In Septembe 1954 he helped throw the suppor of the small local FOR group be hind a combined effort of labo youth, and religious organization to circulate anti-H-bomb petition Poster and speech meetings adver tised the drive. Charged with bein "Communistic" and investigated b the police, he was chosen by th petition committee to visit the chie of the police investigation burea and to explain to him the trul peaceful ideology of the group. B November the petition campaig had been so successful that th town council itself adopted an anti H-bomb resolution using the lan guage of the petition Sata had bee circulating.

There is Mr. Okano, who teache social science in the junior hig school of a leper colony near Oka

yama. His method of persuasion is a Bible class for students. Since he believes that the peace message is the essence of the gospel, he thinks that Bible study is the best way to train not only Christians, but Christian peace workers.

Church-Oriented

In general it may be said that the Japanese FOR is somewhat more church-oriented than its American counterpart. Most members are active in their respective churches. Informal worship—prayer, hymns, and scripture—precedes every FOR meeting. But the program itself is probably as secular as that in the United States. Okano, for instance, deplores the FOR's constant stress on "activities," and would like to see more "teaching of the gospel." His point of view is most likely to be found among *Kyodan* members or adherents and the *Mukyokai,* or Non-Church Group, an anti-organizational organization. The *Mukyokai* includes such outstanding persons as President Yanaibara of Tokyo University. It is more predominantly pacifist than any other Christian group in Japan and forms the largest component in the FOR. The Friends, the nucleus of the FOR at the time of post-war revival, are now the third group numerically.

Post neo-orthodox theology has begun to have an impact on Japanese pacifist thinking. Quaker humanist and social gospel currents are still strong. Unfortunately, they are sometimes accompanied by an overweening optimism and a certain political naivete. It may seem strange to find people so optimistic about peace in the land of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but an examination of the thought processes which have followed the A-bomb helps explain the phenomenon. The revulsion against war has been so strong in Japan that many people, pacifists and non-pacifists alike, impute to other nations of the world the same intense desire for peace. Domestically the peace movement is popular, seemingly protected by Article 9 of the constitution.

Food for Peace

Optimism is a strong motivation for good works and cannot be condemned. In the person of Paul Sekiya it has been blended with a reassuringly realistic and truly Christian view of the FOR's proper relationship with other political and religious bodies. Says Sekiya: "Our aim is peace and our tool is peace. We will make our position clear and cooperate only insofar as there is agreement on principle." This means in practice, of course, that the FOR cannot allow itself to be "used" by Communist-front groups. He adds, however, that "Christian pacifism must be preached to everyone, even Communists." One of the most important practical decisions which was made according to these guideposts involves the National Council for Outlawing of the H-Bomb, which collected over 23,000,000 signatures in Japan for its petition. Though a small minority in the National Council has connections with the World Peace Council, the non-Communist leadership, which includes Tetsu Katayama, Japan's first Socialist and first Christian prime minister, is predominant. Speakers at the Council's rallies have condemned Soviet, as well as American, H-bomb experiments.

The FOR feels that since there is sufficient area of agreement on principle and slight danger of being "used" by this organization, cooperation is justified.

Collaboration With Others

FOR collaboration with a Buddhist peace society has already been mentioned. Relations with other Christian peace groups was formalized in the Japan Conference of Peace Organizations. Besides the FOR and the Walser Fund, there are five participating organizations. The Christian Peace Society, with more than 1,000 members, is under strong Barthian influence. Many of its members, though opposed to war and conscription, do not wish to be called "pacifists." Still, some of them come to FOR meetings as observers and a few are FOR members. The Japan Christian Peace Association founded after World War I by the Reverend Mr. Kodaira as a branch of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches, has as its ideological complexion (according to Mr. Kodaira) "absolute pacifism." Other participants are the Japan Peace Committee, the All-Japan Christian Socialist Front, and the Christian World Alliance for Peace. Sekiya has also had correspondence with leaders of the Christian Peace League, formed by a group in the Presbyterian Church which has separated from *Kyodan*. The possibilities for FOR cooperation with the International Relations Committee of the National Christian Council have not been fully investigated.

Sekiya's title of "half-time" executive secretary is merely a euphemism for "half-paid," less than $350 a year. Annual membership fees are about $1.50 and the total FOR annual budget in 1954 was under $2,300.[2] Unfortunately, even on this small scale the Japanese FOR is not self-supporting. Last year nearly one-third of the income was from the IFOR and the Episcopal Peace Fellowship. Though the budget is small, it is imaginative. The Peace Fund, which as yet totals less than $10, is being put aside in anticipation of the financial problems of pacifist youth. If, for example, a young man loses his job because he was a pacifist (which is not unheard of) or if a person became a pacifist while working in a munitions factory and felt constrained by conscience to leave, the FOR will in the future be able to offer a helping, though feeble, hand.

Impact on Life

A small budget and a small membership do not adequately indicate the impact which FOR has had and can have on Japanese religious and intellectual life. At this high tide of the peace movement it has the great challenge of deepening the convictions of those with whom it finds itself in temporary, and perhaps superficial, agreement. As the forces of rearmament grow more determined, pacifists will be called upon to speak out more effectively for the preservation of the peace constitution and against conscription. Since the Hatoyama cabinet has shown no indication of wanting to push through conscription in the near future, FOR mem-

[2] Contributions, membership fees, and the sale of *Yuwa*, the Japanese counterpart of *Fellowship*, were the three largest domestic sources of income.

bers have not given much though to possible CO provisions in a draft law. But if the present political stalemate, in which the Socialists have sufficient votes to preserve Article 9 but insufficient votes to block defense budgets, continues—the pressure for military manpower will be even too great for the astute politician Hatoyama to resist, and conscription, despite its unconstitutionality, will eventually be called for. However, if the growth of the ACLU in the face of burgeoning McCarthyism can be said to state a law of social behavior, then the strengthening of its opponents may turn out to be the best possible "shot in the arm" for FOR membership and budget figures. As the peace tide falls, more and more people with a real concern may see the necessity of organization. More paradox.

In The Name Of Man

Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals and forts.

—**Longfellow**

•

One nation cannot defeat another nation today. That concept died with Hiroshima. War is like fire; you prevent a fire or you can try to put it out, but you can't "win" a fire, because fire is destruction.

—**General H. H. Arnold**

•

O brother, lift a cry, a long world-cry
Sounding from sky to sky—
The cry of one great word,
Peace, peace, the world-will clamoring to be heard
A cry to break the ancient battle-ban
To end it in the sacred name of Man!

—**Edwin Markham**

PAX VOBISCUM,

Mr. Secretary

by Donald P. Irish

On March 19 President Eisenhower appointed Harold Stassen to a new political post, with full cabinet rank, to evolve United States' policies on international disarmament, taking "into account the full implications of new weapons. . . ." Some periodicals have labeled the new office a "Secretary of Peace."

SCENE: *The President of the United States of Columbia has called a brief session of the "super-cabinet" in the Presidential Mansion, combining the Security Commission and the Cabinet.*

PURPOSE: *To brief the new Secretary of Peace, Mr. J. Wesley Christian, on his duties, to hear his proposals for easing international tensions, and to offer him the full cooperation by all executive departments.*

THE PRESIDENT: We welcome you to our planning councils, Mr. Christian. I have asked all the other executive heads of departments to cooperate fully with you in your program. You appreciate, of course, that no recommendations which you submit can become official policy until the Security Commission approves them. And your appointment should in no way be construed to mean that I lack faith in the peace-making potential of the Departments of Defense and State.

SECRETARY OF PEACE: Yes, sir, but a Secretary of War and a Secretary of Peace in the same Cabinet. . . ?

SECRETARY OF DEFENSE: Perhaps I can explain. Be assured, Mr. Christian, that the full resources of my Department are available at your request. We

brought permanent peace to tens of thousands of persons in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. We can now vastly extend the area over which such peace can be brought. Nothing must be done to curtail our potential to enforce the peace and to save lives, of course!

SECRETARY OF PEACE: Did you say "save lives," sir?

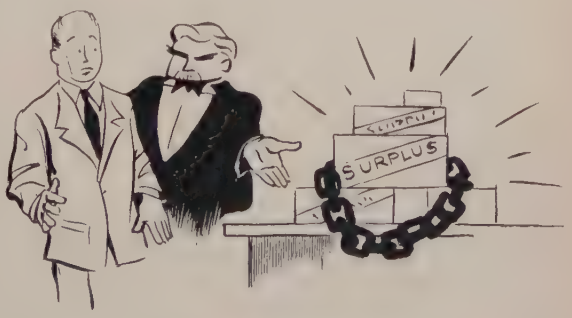
SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE: Columbian lives, Mr. Christian. For alleviating the lot of some other lives you can most certainly count on the use of many tons of food in our federal storehouses. Since it is surplus, it means no great sacrifice for us. There is some need among democratic nations—those are the ones that are allied to us militarily——and others can perhaps be enticed to remain neutral for us through the judicious political use of food. Certainly if our enemies hunger, we have no obligation to feed them.

SECRETARY OF PEACE: Enemies, sir? The good Samaritan. . . .

SECRETARY OF COMMERCE: We know. But it is politically dangerous and economically expensive to extend this idea of brotherly love too widely. To trade in strategic materials, even butter, dried milk, and other stored foods, would give comfort to the enemy. Extensive rehabilitation and development programs would necessitate tax increases or would result in the elimination of essentials. And on the domestic scene, sir, I hope that you will not stimulate any "peace scare" which might upset the market or disturb the real prosperity which we have attained, thanks to armament production. However, be assured of my full support for your program of peace.

SECRETARY OF PEACE: Thank you sir; but peace is . . .

COMMISSIONER OF MOBILIZATION: Peace is strength. Anything which I can do to assist you in strengthening the moral and religious fiber of the nation, I will do. For your part, I hope that you will not alarm the people concerning the long-term trends; for the citizenry is just beginning to adopt an attitude which the President recently characterized as mature: "the unquestioning acceptance . . . the smooth adjustment to a new way of life manifested by millions. . . ." They are resigning themselves to the inevitability of these changes which make military influence in society more palatable. In might we must trust. It is better for mental hy-



giene that the people not have to wrestle with ideological conflicts or contradictions.

SECRETARY OF PEACE: But peace-*making* is doing, acting, thinking through.

COMMISSIONER: May I also remind you that we need millions of men and women in the peace forces, and in our weapon research laboratories. I trust that you will not recruit any sizeable number of persons for non-essential, that is, primarily non-military, tasks. We cannot afford to defer many social workers, ministers, doctors, missionaries, peace-work scientists, and the like. Please know, however, that you have my prayers for the success of your endeavors.

SECRETARY OF PEACE: Thank you very much, sir, for the prayers, but . . .

SECRETARY OF LABOR: I certainly agree with the Commissioner. If we are to prepare young people to preserve democracy, we must not lead them to expect free choice in their careers or freedom to leave their jobs at will. Perhaps you could also help, Mr. Christian, by providing industrial chaplains to assist the workers to accept with peace of mind the situation in which they may find themselves.

SECRETARY OF PEACE: This brand of peace really does pass my understanding.

SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE: Speaking of understanding, the children of the nation must be informed of the situation, and they must be taught to anticipate bombs falling on their classrooms —in a calm and natural way, of course. And any classroom references to specific enemy countries should be made in as unimpassioned a manner as is possible. To improve the nation's health, the physically fit should be selected for further training. And ministers can be most useful in promoting good national mental health, particularly on Sundays just before religious and national holidays, by discussing "God" and "Country" in almost identical terms.

SECRETARY OF PEACE: (to himself) That God must be Mars.

SECRETARY OF H, E, & W: I should alert, you, also, Mr. Christian, to the situation in higher education. Many of the smaller, poorer, liberal arts schools, even those under religious auspices, depend greatly on military units to recruit and to hold male students. Rifle teams, dress drill units, and weapon exhibits can help publicize such schools. Many of the larger universities have

their research and graduate facilities very dependent upon military contracts. Liberal education would be drastically hurt if these programs were jeopardized.

SECRETARY FOR PEACE: Did you say "liberal"?

SECRETARY OF STATE: By that we mean a liberal progressive conservatism. I, too, wish to assist you in reducing international tensions. However, you should anticipate that problems will arise, Mr. Christian, if you contemplate any extensive international interchange of teachers and students, or the acceptance of Displaced Persons according to their needs, or the scheduling of world scientific meetings in the States. Passports and visas can be issued only for the most non-controversial persons who will serve to implement our present national policies.

SECRETARY OF PEACE: Apparently we don't have the most plastic curtain, either.

POSTMASTER-GENERAL: At least our franking privileges are available to your agency for circulating material through the mails. However, it must be clearly marked as "peace propaganda" so that no one will be misled.

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY: Earlier, Mr. Christian, you asked me about the budgetary allowances for your Department. As you know, my Department budgets many items which directly and greatly augment your prospective program; for over three-fourths of the federal income is expended for past, present, and future pacifications. Other Departments which are more established than is yours will have priorities. And we must allow for token payments to the United Nations and its agencies. Throughout we must economize, eliminate waste, and curtail nonessentials, by which I mean, primarily, nonmilitary expenditures. So your staff must be rather small. . . .

SECRETARY OF PEACE: I'll grant that one Man of Peace greater than I once did quite well with only twelve men, but . . .

ATTORNEY GENERAL: May I point out, however, that a small staff will be a distinct advantage in that the loyalty screening of the personnel will be easier. It is well, if I may suggest, that they be persons with no record of strong convictions about peace or active affiliations with any controversial groups. Nobel peace prize winners are particullarly risky. By the way, it does seem very appropriate somehow,

that our Secretary of Peace is named "Christian."

SECRETARY OF PEACE: Perhaps, sir. But actually it is a name very difficult to carry—though it is a constant challenge to me. It is a reminder of the much beloved, but little followed, man of peace from the district near Bethlehem.

POSTMASTER GENERAL: Bethlehem, Pennsylvania?

SECRETARY OF PEACE: No, another Bethlehem. He was crucified, you will recall, by those who neither understood, nor accepted, his way of life.

DIRECTOR OF THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY: Yes, he was quite a religious radical. In his day he even dared to associate with all kinds of criminals, communalists, sex offenders, and imperial agents!

SECRETARY OF PEACE: Yes, but for a purpose....

PERSONAL SECURITY OFFICER: Let's not be concerned with the motives in such ancient and now irrelevant associations. I trust that you will not be so foolish as to attempt to develop bridges of communication with unpopular groups or to try to get to know them intimately. That could make you a security risk.

SECRETARY OF PEACE: But, Mr President, how can I operate effectively in this framework? What can I do?

THE PRESIDENT: Certainly that is a pertinent question for future agenda. I'm sorry, gentlemen, but we must conclude. Now that we have all pledged our wholehearted support to Mr. Christian let us close our meeting with the final stanza of "Onward Christian Soldiers."

SECRETARY OF PEACE: But, Mr President . . . (to himself) I wish it were the final stanza, for the final time. Perhaps I'll be allowed to conclude peace with the Seminoles—if it is agreeable with the Secretary of the Interior!

CHORUS.

. . . As The ROBINS Fly . . .

A Project Open to Any Pacifist

by Bessie Dunn

A BUSY Michigan mother, confined rather closely to home with her young family, knew only one FOR member in Chicago. One day an announcement of a state meeting reached her in the fall of 52, giving the chairman's name and address. She wrote to him—Dr. Howard Alexander—asking what she might do, suggesting she might address mailings and thus free someone for more important work.

Dr. Alexander responded with the proposal of a service, to isolated FOR members, offering pacifist literature. This volunteering member received her first personal contact with other FOR members, when Rev. and Mrs. Arthur Delamarter called upon her. Their suggestion was a Round Robin of correspondence to bring into closer fellowship the isolated members of FOR.

Thus the Robins were born, known initially and affectionately as "Lonely Hearts" project, dignified as a Correspondence and Literature Service, and resolving into the now well-known Round Robins, or simply "R.R."

Mimeographed letters, offering the fellowship of correspondence and literature of an inspirational or informative nature, reached seventy isolated Michigan members during the Christmas holidays of 1952. In the early part of the new year follow-up letters were sent, quoting from the letters already received. The first Round Robin mailing went out to ten people who responded, divided into groups of three and four. The literary contents of each envelope of letters (spiritual-pacifist autobiographies) by way of introduction, set the pattern for the next three years.

Other literature that was offered

that first year included "Accent on Affirmation," "Fifteen Meditations on Peace," "Cells for Peace," "Courage in Both Hands," "Ten Questions on Prayer," "Wars Contrary to the Will of God," and mailings of nine pieces of literature on conscientious objection.

The service quickly became a stimulating exchange of ideas, and a prod to deeper thought on the meaning and issues of pacifism. One early letter said:

"I electrified the company once . . . by stating flatly that everybody believes that the end justifies the means, to some extent at least. . . . For instance, it is wrong to trample down a field of growing wheat that belongs to someone else, but what would we think of a man who used that excuse—we'd call it an excuse—not to go to the aid of a man who was being attacked by a bull? You can't say flatly that you must stay out of your neighbor's wheat field if to go in will harm the crop."

This provocative quotation is from a letter written by a homemaker, an FOR member who had been "out of touch" till she heard about the Robins. She is still with us!

Postcard Check

One thing that developed as a necessity that first year was a postcard check on the contributors (when the Robins get stalled on the round), to see if they still wish to continue as participants. Out of that came the present plan of enclosing postcards self-addressed by the service chairman, which the participant sends to let the chairman know the envelope of material has either arrived or is just being sent on to the next in order.

When the "R.R.s" are sometime delayed somewhere the projec chairman begins to get queries— "Where are the Robins?" "Haven' seen the RR's for a long time—ar they lost?"

The Second Year

By the second year there wer thirteen active participants, bot FOR members and friends. Sinc then a few have dropped out. On felt we didn't accomplish anything Another said there was too muc religious emphasis. One ministe claimed that the Robinites wer too much, on top of the ministr and study. On the other hand ther have been new participants givin and joining, so that the total par ticipation remained about thirteer At the current writing the presen active participation is fiftee (counting several couples as one and three of those participate i both Robins.

In time, however the pieces c literature were viewed as a deter rent to rapid turnover. The possi bilities of quarterly mailings c such literature as Vernier's *Not a the World Giveth* and *With Th Master* and *The New Testamen Basis of Pacifism*, etc., were testec but the books were four to si months en route, and the envelope of correspondence continued t swell with literature, as one partic ipant after another added a leafle or paper that appealed to him c her. It came to the point where on participant observed that the hug amounts of literature enclosed de tracted from the correspondence— which is the real value of th unique group.

Consequently, the new "rule" that no participant will add mor than a clipping or a thought. Th

new librarian, Mrs. Elsie Delamarter, may add a leaflet and a sheet on which the clipping or thought may be pasted. The desired result is a further exploration into the field of ideas, new possibilities in the furthering of peace, and creative positive living.

It is, of course, difficult for such a group to actively achieve some goal. Such achievement must be left to the individual member, under the stimulus of this group exchange. When the Robins had their first joint meeting in May, 1954, it was mainly a social get-together to enable most of us to meet for the first time, and to consider how we might actively serve. We spent the weekend addressing and stamping hundreds of announcements of the June rally (which promises to become a Michigan FOR institution)!

This service project suggests other possibilities. We would very much like to expand into other states, or even internationally. Even if the plan that no participant keep the envelope of correspondence more than one week was strictly followed, we realize that, by keeping the groups small, no participant would receive the mail probably more than four to six times a year. The present participants still think it'd be worth it!

A side-service to the elderly, the handicapped and shut-in was briefly considered. Someone else might be able to develop a very worthy pacifist group fellowship in this limited range.

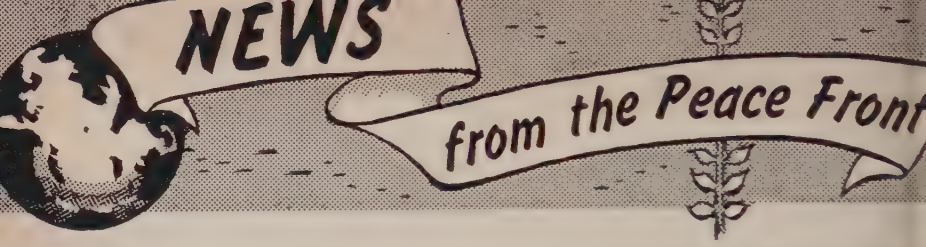
A third possibility is a correspondence and literature service as a means of developing or enlarging pacifist interest and eventual active participation in areas poorly represented among the membership of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. This could become a vitally important contribution to the efforts of pacifism. May we dare to hope that readers who felt there wasn't much they could do will accept this challenge?

Because it took such a long time (sometimes several months) for the two Robins to make the rounds, we now have four groups of four participants (sometimes couples) to each group. We lost two correspondents (who felt they could not keep up the seven-day time limit for mailing and the increased correspondence) but gained three new participants and possibly a fourth. Moreover, we now have two interstate groups—one with Michigan, N. Y. and Ohio represented, the other with Michigan, Massachusetts and possibly Indiana represented.

Thus we progress. . . .

How strange that pacifism so often crucified and defeated keeps coming back generation after generation! Why do the aggressors not finish it? Has it a kind of resurrection force? Is it sown in weakness but later raised in power? Is it the keystone for civilization which the builders have unwisely rejected?

—**John Nevin Sayre,** in Why Pacifism Holds Me



Hiroshima Girls Here for Surgery

Twenty-five Japanese girls, who bear the scars of the world's first atom-bomb attack, arrived in the U.S. recently hoping that medical science might erase the blemishes and restore them to normal.

Their interpreter was the Reverend Kiyoshi Tanimoto, American-educated Methodist minister, whose church had been a meeting place for the girls. There they gathered together and virtually shunned society. Through the efforts of Tanimoto, however, most of them became expert seamstresses and were employed in jobs which did not involve meeting the public.

Tanimoto has been sponsoring the cause of the Hiroshima maidens for five years. He solicited medical help for the girls in Japan and the United States, which finally culminated in the series of plastic surgery operations that began recently at Mount Sinai Hospital in New York City.

The entire project was begun in the U.S. by Norman Cousins, editor of *The Saturday Review of Literature* and director of the Hiroshima Peace Center Associates, who brought the cases to the hospital's attention.

Toyoko Minowa, 29-year old dressmaker and president of the group expressed an attitude typical of the girls. "We in Hiroshima had a terrible destruction upon us, but we should have repentance rather than hatred, and we began to hate war," she said soberly.

Quaker Group Visit Russia

Six American Quakers left for Russia June 2 for a month's goodwill visit sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee.

Clarence E. Pickett of Haverford, Pa., emeritus executive secretary of the committee, heads the party. It includes: Stephen G. Cary, head of American work for the committee; Hugh W. Moore, committee finance secretary; Wroe Alderson, head of a Philadelphia firm of consulting economists and a past president of the American Marketing Association; William B. Edgerton, assistant professor of Russian at Pennsylvania State University and Eleanor Zelliot, assistant to the editor of *The American Friend*.

Pickett said that the visit was initiated by the committee, which several years ago won the Nobel Prize for its efforts in world peace and war relief. "The only thing 'official' about the trip is that permission for tourist visas was promptly and courteously granted by both the U.S. and Soviet governments," he said.

All except Edgerton gathered in London for "orientation" discussions with British Quakers who visited Russia previously.

Armed Forces Day. *Waving anti-war posters and distributing leaflets, the California Youth followed closely on the heels of marching units of the Army, Navy, and Marines from Camp Pendleton, as they trudged through the streets of Long Beach, California.*

Servicemen Upset FOR Poster Walk

The California Youth FOR marched behind the Armed Forces "Power For Peace" parade at Long Beach, California, and gave the spectators and some servicemen something to ponder.

When a jeering band of servicemen began to snatch at the posters carried by the 13 Youth members, the marchers didn't offer violent resistance as expected. They just picked up the posters and started to march again. Then a group of marines decided to throw their weight into the fight. Joining the servicemen, they tore at posters, flinging them to the ground. Last sign to go down belonged to youth FOR leader, Hank Maiden.

A Fund for the Republic cameraman, covering the poster walk, got some excellent shots, including the tearing of the posters. The films were used in a coast-to-coast television broadcast.

Veteran Pacifist Dies in New York

Jessie Wallace Hughan, a pioneer of the pacifist movement, and charter member of the American FOR, died recently in New York at the age of 79.

As early as 1915, Jessie Hughan was at the forefront of organized pacifist activity, having won support from John Haynes Holmes and Tracy Mygatt for the Anti-Enlistment League, first U.S. organization to enroll war resisters. That autumn at a meeting of leading Christian pacifists called during the visit of Henry Hodgkin, British Quaker, she helped form the American Fellowship.

A strong force in forging unity among pacifists, she constantly sought a common ground on which pacifists of varying opinions could unite, reducing intra-organizational strife to a minimum. Following World War I, Jessie was authorized by the FOR to form a Committee for Enrolment against War, consisting mostly of men and women of differing political and religious beliefs. In 1923, she helped found the War Resisters League.

In 1940 she organized the Pacifist Teachers League.

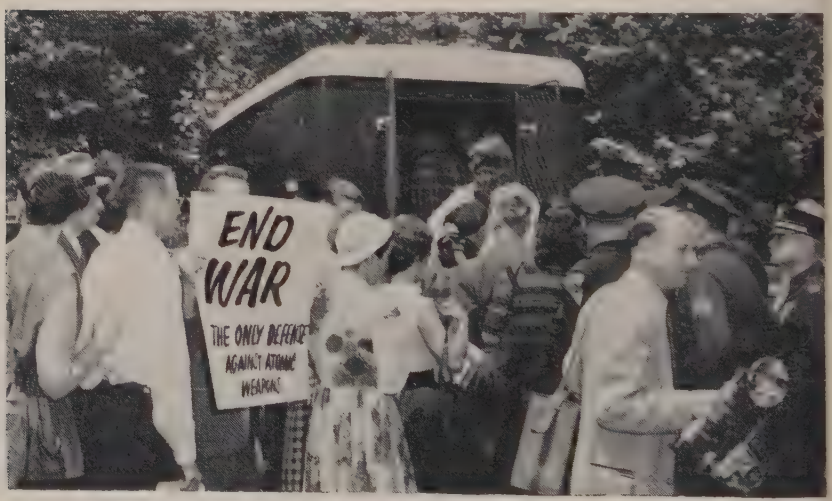
She was also a poet and prolific writer on pacifism. Her books include *The Challenge of Mars and Other Verse*, and *A Study of International Government*.

Pacifists Demonstrate, Educate on CD Day

Twenty-nine pacifists were arrested in New York City on June 15, charged with violating the New York State Emergency Defense Act, when they failed to take cover at the sound of the "Applejack" alert marking the beginning of a practice air raid drill.

The demonstration, during which the twenty-nine distributed FOR and other leaflets on civil defense, was part of a pacifist program in New York that covered most of the day. This began with a morning meeting for meditation, followed by a luncheon, at Community Church, sponsored by the New York Regional FOR. A. J. Muste spoke at the luncheon.

The afternoon demonstration, which was supposed to culminate in delivery of a message to the office of the mayor, was sponsored by the *Catholic Worker* and the War Resisters League. The Peace and Service Committee of the New York Yearly Meeting of Friends sponsored the evening meeting, at the Friends Meeting House on East 20th Street, which featured a three-way debate on civil defense. Participants were Bertram D. Cooke, of the New York Office of Civil Defense; Arnold Vaught, director of Friends Center; and Alfred Hassler, editor of FELLOWSHIP. Vaught urged pacifist participation in CD preparations on the ground that no matter how large the area of destruction, lives could be saved on its periphery. Hassler described CD



Anti-War demonstrators in New York City Hall Park were herded into two police vans when they failed to take cover at the sound of the "alert" on Civil Defense Day, June 15. FOR secretary emeritus A. J. Muste peers out from inside the van.

efforts as having no significant function except to convince the public that "a totally unmanageable catastrophe is somehow capable of being managed." He warned that President Eisenhower's assertion that "there is no longer any alternative to peace" is the sheerest kind of realism.

The drama of the arrested demonstrators was heightened when they were arraigned in Night Court. Magistrate Louis I. Kaplan, after a very brief exchange with a young woman defendant from the *Catholic Worker*, abruptly ordered her committed to Bellevue Hospital for psychiatric observation. The order, which shocked onlookers, brought the defendant to what witnesses described as near-hysteria, and elicited an outraged protest from her husband, seated among the spectators. Police removed both forcibly from the courtroom.

Following this incident, Magistrate Kaplan recessed the court for about a half-hour, sent a call for police reinforcements that brought 15 patrol cars and dozens of police to the scene, and, on his return to the bench, ordered the courtroom and the entire building cleared of all spectators. He then read a prepared statement and ordered the other defendants held in $1500 bail each, with one set at $3000. All were freed by Friday except one who refused to accept bail, with a hearing set for June 23.

Preliminary reports have come in also on public meetings, poster parades, and leaflet distribution in Chicago and Boston, but no details were available as this went to press.

Don't Order your Christmas cards until you See Fellowship Christmas cards!

Pacifists Rally Against Taxes

Twenty-nine pacifists announced in April that they have refused once again to pay 1954 federal income taxes. Some refused to pay any taxes, while others paid a "non-military" percentage of the national budget. Their pledges were made through the Tax Refusal Committee of Peacemakers, a pacifist group.

The Committee said that they would not pay taxes for any war preparation, and singled out the "New Look" military policy for special criticism, charging that this policy commits the United States to the use of nuclear weapons in the event of a major war.

Part of the statement released by the Committee says: ". . . To believe that the evils of other countries will surely overpower us unless we outdo them . . . is to believe that evil always prevails over right, and that the greater evil prevails over the lesser evil. To believe that that nation which can slaughter the most people will unquestionably triumph is to believe the great moral teachings of religion and philosophy are dangerous delusions. We do not believe these teachings are delusions."

This year, a small but growing number of American vacationers will set out for the nearest Ashram, rustic encampments borrowed from the Hindus and adapted to Christianity in this country by Dr. E. Stanley Jones, well-known pacifist evangelist. The Ashram is in its 16th consecutive year.

Draft Board Resigns Over Pacifist Sect

The Moultrie County (Illinois) Selective Service Board recently closed up shop. Members have resigned in protest against draft avoidance by members of a small pacifist sect known as Harshmanites. According to Robert Zook, board chairman, "We can no longer draft Moultrie County boys with a clear conscience. Not one Harshmanite has entered service through our board. We can't see Moultrie County boys sacrificing their time and lives while a group evade service."

Draft evasion charges against CO Gordon Harris of Sullivan, Illinois, were dropped in the U.S. District Court after his conviction had been voided by the U.S. Supreme Court. The cases of five other Harshmanite COs indicted for failure to comply with draft orders were returned by the U.S. attorney to the board for reprocessing.

New Study Under Way On Christian and War

A new inquiry into the Christian attitude toward war and peace may soon be undertaken by the World Council of Churches as a result of the development of nuclear weapons. Tentative plans for the study were announced recently by Dr. Robert S. Bilheimer of Geneva, Switzerland, associate general secretary of the World Council and director of its division of studies.

Speaking at the three-day annual meeting of the U.S. Conference of the World Council, Dr. Bilheimer said the study of the theological implications of the subject was needed "because of the possibility that the hydrogen bomb has created a new element in warfare for which the established Christian attitude has little relevance." The study will probably be made during the next two or three years by a special commission of lay and clerical leaders.

Stauffer Curry Resigns From NSBRO

Dr. A. Stauffer Curry has resigned as executive director of the National Service Board for Religious Objectors.

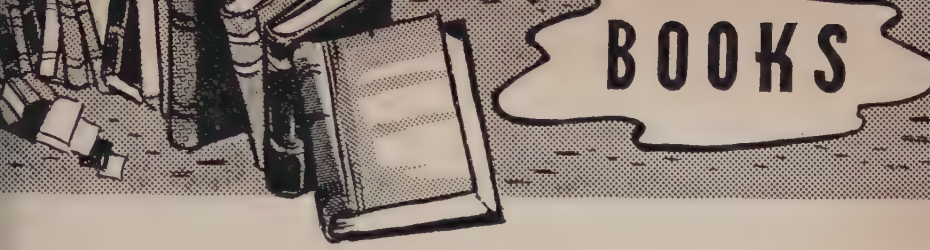
Dr. Curry, a member of the FOR National Council, will become editor of Christian education publications of his denomination at its Elgin, Ill., headquarters on Sept. 1.

He has directed the Service Board since 1949. The board, supported by 31 Protestant denominations, serves as liaison group between the churches and the Selective Service system in administering the program of alternative civilian service for religious objectors to the draft. It also counsels conscientious objectors who have problems with their draft boards or in civilian work assignments.

UMT "Undemocratic" Says Youth Group

The United Christian Youth Movement, official youth agency of the National Council of Churches, is opposed to universal military training.

According to the UCYM, "Universal military training is neither a democratic nor a Christian answer to the problems confronting our nation, and this conviction has been repeatedly reaffirmed by our General Council."



Freshness and Charm

A Spark for My People, by Ella Earls Cotton. Exposition, 1954. 288 pp. $4.00.

Here is a little book which should be of interest to anyone concerned with the question of race relations in the South. Mrs. Cotton, the daughter of an inter-racial marriage, the granddaughter of former slaves, and a teacher in Negro schools of the South for many years, is excellently equipped by background and experience to write what she calls *A Sociological Autobiography of a Negro Teacher.*

The book is characterized by an unsophisticated, straightforward style which gives it great freshness and charm. Throughout are flashes of quiet humor—for example, the book's opening lines: "Birth is like the honeymoon. The quicker you get it over with, the sooner you begin living." There are also many places where the author's descriptions reveal her love and understanding of human beings and her deep awareness of the beauties of nature.

But the thing that will impress many FELLOWSHIP readers most is the spirit of love and good will which breathes through the book. It is clearly revealed at times in such passages as these. ". . . I found the most valuable lesson of my life. And that lesson was that if I allowed myself to hate, that hatred would destroy me rather than the person hated." (p. 147) "Man . . . is the greatest victim of his own poison—hate. No one has to destroy one who hates, for hate itself will destroy such a one." (p. 243) "Violence never makes men; rather it destroys them." (p. 263) Here is insight rarely found in today's publications.

All in all, this is a quite refreshing book. In it the reader sees the development of the author's soul and learns a good deal about conditions of Negro life and education in the South during the past five decades.

ROBERT C. DELK

A Paradox

Religion and Freedom of Thought by Perry Miller, Robert L. Calhoun, Nathan M. Pusey, and Reinhold Niebuhr with a Foreword by Henry P. Van Dusen. Doubleday and Company, Inc., Garden City, New York. 1954. 64 pps.

This small and important book contains four addresses delivered by its contributors at a special one-day conference at Union Theological Seminary in New York on the theme: "The Relation between Religion and Freedom of the Mind." The holding of the conference and publishing of these addresses was Union's part in Columbia Univer-

sity's Bicentennial discussions of "Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof."

Despite the diversity of interests and backgrounds of the authors and a national tendency to deal with the issues in light of their special areas of competence, one finds in these essays an important concensus of opinion. Each essay points out the paradoxical relationship between religion and intellectual freedom. All of the authors realize that religion frequently stifles intellectual and institutional freedom, yet they reject the too-easy dictum of the secularist that freedom of the mind can be obtained only by breaking from religious commitment.

Professor Miller of Harvard, approaching the matter from the perspective of American studies, shows quite clearly the tyranny to the mind which has frequently been cloaked in Biblicistic revivalism. He points out the religious sterility of the "religion of nature" which grew up in 19th century America as a reaction against this. Professor Calhoun of Yale points out the same paradoxical relationship between freedom and religion as it has marked the history of thought from early Helenic times up through the modern period. President Pusey of Harvard reminds us that Thucydides experienced a time of troubles not unlike our own. He urges institutions of higher learning to recognize their responsibility for overcoming resentment of free learning and distrust of sound religious devotion, as distrust of the former exists outside the college and distrust of the latter exists within it. Dr. Niebuhr of Union says that self often contributes much to its own enslavement. He shows systematically a truth which Professor Miller documents historically—that freedom is fully as apt to flow from pluralistic culture as from religious devotion. Indeed religion is not always the father of freedom.

All of the contributors realize that in the present American scene, the most serious threats to freedom come not from religious sources but from the political and economic idolatries that would effect conformity to vested doctrines. Against these new forms of the inquisitional spirit, this volume wisely calls for steadfast vigilance and common witness on the part of both religion and liberal learning. We dare not but heed its call.

EDWARD L. LONG, JR.

An Old and Vexing Problem

A Democratic Manifesto: The Impact of Dynamic Christianity Upon Public Life and Government, by Samuel Enoch Stumpf. Vanderbilt University Press, 1954. 168 pp., $2.75.

Men have asked for generations what influence religions have had on moral and political theory and practice. It is often difficult to show that they have had *any* influence, and what influence existed, though Christian dogmatists have asserted flatly that "Christianity" has had an ennobling impact on humanity, and various "freethinkers," with equal dogmatism, assert that its impact has been wholly malign.

Professor Stumpf of the Vanderbilt University Law School deals with this vexing problem in an age when, as he warns, "democracy" is challenged as never before. Communist philosophy and practice attack the democratic creed at every point, he says, and what is most

isquieting is that democratic pologists often have no clear-cut hilosophy with which to counter ie attack. The defenders of de-iocracy have forgotten the theo-)gical and philosophical founda-ions of their beliefs. Those foun-ations, the author maintains, are 1 part to be found in Christian eaching.

At the heart of democracy, he iscerns faith in the dignity and esponsibility of man, that "all men re equal, not through the decision f men but through the fact of heir being equally endowed with eing and purpose by God." By ontrast, Communism regards hu-ian purpose and spirit as the roducts of "material" order. Al-hough Stumpf admits that, in Christian history, "resounding deals about the sacrosanct nature f man did not . . . prevent the per-etuation of outrages against men," ie argues that there is a difference etween committing outrages, while iot recognizing them as such, and alling a "spade" a spade. To the eviewer, this raises the nice ques-ion of whether the bulk of Chris-ian leaders in any given age did lenounce the major outrages of hat age. Did Torquemade recog-iize the Spanish Inquisition as an outrage? Can we truthfully say hat Christians are more sensitive o the moral outrage of war than ion-Christians?

The author analyzes, in one of is best chapters, the "role and rule f law." He correctly points out hat the major historical contribu-ion of Christianity in this area ame from the heterdox sects and iot, in modern times, from ortho-lox Christians. He also notes that Communist philosophy (as well as ome "Western" legal thought) lenies the idea of discoverable uni-versal standards to which human laws ought to conform.

In his treatment of "democracy as a moral enterprise" he stresses the large role debate and free interchange of opinion must play in developing moral standards. Stumpf quotes with approval Niebuhr's well-known epigram: "Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible, but man's tendency to injustice makes democracy necessary." Stumpf sees three ideals governing human political quest—order, freedom, and security. Societies disintegrate when any one of these ideals is exalted to the exclusion of the other two. This is due to several motives which are incompatible to democratic society. Among them are fear, self-interest, and material desire. The creative motive for democracy, as well as for Christianity, is "love." Love means "love of others as creatures of God, respect for them, and concern about them."

Within brief compass, Professor Stumpf has managed to summarize rather clearly the leading essentials of democratic political philosophy. One wonders, however, just what is meant by "dynamic Christianity." Might not the sub-title of the book have been somewhat more accurate had it read "The Possible Impact of Some Minority Currents In Christianity Upon Public Life and Government"? It is unfortunate, too, that, while an attempt is made to relate democratic principles to certain specific problems (regulation of the economic order, for example), nothing whatsoever is said about the relevance or irrelevance of "democracy" and "Christianity" for war, which after all is twentieth-century man's overshadowing ethical and political problem. Mulford Q. Sibley

A Tremendous Challenge

Now Is The Time, by Lillian Smith. Viking Press, New York, 1955. 120 pp. $2.00. Paperback, 25c.

It is not easy to live in an area of severe tensions between two racial groups. It is especially not easy for a woman of the dominating group to stand up—perhaps alone—and quietly but steadily urge members of her group to replace their fears and animosities with love, patience, and understanding.

But this is precisely what Lillian Smith has done once again in her latest book, *Now Is The Time.* The book is easy reading—easy, that is, for those who see the tragic results of making distinctions between people on the basis of race. For others the reading may be somewhat difficult.

The title carries the feeling of urgency produced by the recent decision of the Supreme Court on discrimination in public schools. For Lillian Smith, however, what the Supreme Court said has meaning not only for the South, where the virus of prejudice is unusually concentrated, but for the world. "It did not come a day too soon," she writes. "The world alarm clock was ringing. . . ."

Readers will appreciate the manner in which the author deals with twenty-five "loaded questions" commonly proposed by the defenders of segregation. Also helpful is a bibliography on race, colonialism, nationalism, and related subjects.

It is not, however, so much *what* Lillian Smith says in this book—we have heard the appeals to brotherhood many times—as it is the spirit her words convey. It is not a spirit of mere "tolerance" for people of other races, but of deepened understanding of th tremendous challenge confrontin the South today.

Now Is The Time clearly reveal that Lillian Smith has not lost he vision of a time when the term "white" and "colored" as now ap plied in her beloved South wi have been buried deep in the rub ble of a dead past.

"Always they come—the ones wit the vision, the faith, the profoun understanding of what makes me human and keeps them so. Alway they remind us that we must no only tolerate one another's differ ences, we must treasure them; fo out of these differences come th unpredictable, the new idea, th bright dream, the strange an wondrous gift. . . ."

—Robert L. Cannon

Too many Zeroes

We wish to apologize for reportin on p. 29 of the February Fellowsh that Columbia University received grant of one billion dollars. (It wa one *million*).

That Reminds Me . . .

A Fellowship Membership pin or button would be the perfe accessory to wear at the 1955 National Conference. . .

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Write the FOR For Yours. . . .

To remind You—There Is No AUGUST issue of **Fellowship.**

LETTERS

Praise

he Editors,
ELLOWSHIP:

I wish to tell you how much I en-
oy (if that is the word for such a
onscience-needler) FELLOWSHIP, most
specially, perhaps, your searching
ditorials. The February number is
specially fine.

MARGARET B. GATCHELL
Peach Bottom, Pennsylvania

Disturbing

he Editors,
ELLOWSHIP:

I have just read your lead article
the April issue of FELLOWSHIP on
The Economic and the Moral."

As one who is trying to be a prac-
cal economist-cooperator-pacifist, I
nd this article disturbing from many
fferent aspects.

First, I agree with the writer that
ny policy of exclusion from a co-
perative housing unit is discourag-
g. It is not moral. It is not consis-
nt with cooperative principles. And
doubt if it is even economic when
ne considers the public relations
oblems involved in selling insur-
nce.

However, as pacifists, we should not
nclude with an "adios" to the com-
ny.

We know that cooperatives are
ilding peace, that they are heading
the right direction. The shortcom-
gs and the failures are transient.
ey will pass away.

There are certainly enough prob-
ms in both the pacifist and coopera-
tive movements without either pick-
ing on the shortcomings of the other.

We must stress areas of agreement among peoples of good will and build a positive program for peace.

ROBERT M. ST. CLAIR
Northfield, Mass.

A Reminder

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I have a real concern that the FOR should even have to consider retreating in this age of increased militarization and thermo-nuclear weapons.

It has occurred to me that the average FOR member contributes forty dollars to the government (about thirty of which will go to the war effort) for every dollar given to the Fellowship—and this from convinced pacifists!

Please count on me to do all that I can (although as a student I have more enthusiasm than funds) in order that the messages of reconciliation will not be silenced.

EDWARD SMITH
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Offer

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

We have old copies of FELLOWSHIP, the *Progressive*, and the *Nation*, which we will be glad to send to anyone who wants them (at home or abroad). Let us know as soon as possible if you know of any one.

HELEN AND WALTER CONRAD
Box 887, Leverett, Mass.

Ignorance?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

An article on page 21 of your May 1954 magazine has just come to my attention (under column "News from the Peace Front"). In this column, "Graham Evades Pacifist Issue," you seek to show Graham in the light of ignorance of the word "Christian Pacifism." *That* he is not, nor is there *any* organization dedicated to promoting Christian principles that would even think of linking the two words together as though they had anything in common, much less with Christ's sanction. You go on to point out that it is "left for the pacifist to be the realist and point the practical as well as spiritual way to peace. . . ." However, it is much more plausible in the light of Scripture to follow Christ's teaching than to follow the dictates of man's tenets which are bent on misinterpreting certain passages of the Bible to fit their own ends. Mr. Graham certainly advocates peace and Christianity, but he knows, also, that Christianity cannot be had if we surrender those very principles underlying Christianity at the hands of a Godless Communism that can't be compromised for the sake of "co-existence."

C. L. SKELLEY
Pasadena, California

Good News

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

While reading about Thomas Jeffords in that very interesting and revealing article by Genevieve Walther in last month's FELLOWSHIP, I could not help but wonder whether the writer was aware that a very wonderful moving picture had been inspired by the life of this man. "The Broken Arrow", which was showing five years ago, was deeply touching and quite worthy of the man whose life i portrayed.

JOHN H. BROY
Los Angeles, Californi

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September 2-4.

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